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PRESIDENT TITO'S SPEECH

Yugoslavia Will Go On Working Actively as a Power of Peace in Both the United Nations and Every Other Place

On October 12 President Tito returned to Yugoslavia from the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. At a big rally in Belgrade President Tito delivered the following speech:

"Comrades, Citizens"

Permit me first of all to thank you warmly and cordially for this magnificent welcome which you accorded me today. This joyful welcome has its deep significance. It shows that our peoples are really deeply imbued with the aspirations for peace and that they fully approve our policy, the policy of an uncommitted country, the policy of peace.

The reasons why I personally went to America at the head of our delegation are for the most part known to you. The situation in the world has not been rosy, nor is it so today. The failure of the summit meeting in Paris, the failure experienced by the Ten-Nation Committee in Geneva, the events in Africa, and especially the events in the Congo, all this profoundly disturbed us and that is why we decided that this time I should go to the session of the United Nations General Assembly at the head of our delegation.

We knew that many other heads of states and governments would come there and we wanted to try to do everything possible in that highest forum, international forum, to improve the international situation, that is, to achieve the relaxation of tension.

As soon as I came to the United Nations and met there many friends of ours, I realized that my decision to attend this session was correct, as the situation was more than tense, and the atmosphere was full of electricity. In a word, as you could see later and as you are able to see today, the cold war atmosphere was prevalent. The cold war broke out again with its full force and became worse and worse. The fact that many heads of states and governments, most eminent representatives of various countries, had come there to attend the meetings, shows that the peoples of all countries are very concerned about their future. As one might expect, in the course of this General Assembly's session, passions broke out which might bring humanity to an unknown degree of danger, if there were no forces who represent the conscience of mankind, if there were no forces who also represent the bulk of mankind and who at this session raised their powerful voice against further aggravation and sought for the ways and means to improve the international situation.

Allow me to say why I asked, while we were still on board the ship, that I should be among the first to speak at that Assembly. This was primarily because I wished to contribute

in a way, with our attitudes, which I set forth later in my speech and in the talks, to making the atmosphere in the General Assembly take a more normal course. I wished that we should act in such a way as to show that the solution of these important international problems which torment the world should be approached in a quieter way, and that it would be very dangerous if the aggravation were to continue, if the spirit of the cold war were to be introduced into this highest international institution.

Unfortunately, what we thought would happen actually happened. Despite all our efforts and the efforts of our allies and friends, the uncommitted countries, that atmosphere nevertheless started to spread in the United Nations. So we immediately took steps on the spot for a very active consultation with the statesmen, of the uncommitted countries, looking for ways and means to see that this development should not take an undesired direction, but that this Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly should contribute to a relaxation in the world.

Sharp speeches delivered in the Assembly disturbed us greatly. In agreement with Prime Minister Nehru of India, President Nasser of UAR, President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Nkrumah of Ghana, we decided to draw up a document which would be acceptable to the General Assembly. The contents of this document were such that it was very difficult for anyone to be against them and not agree with them. The vast majority of the Assembly, and of the United Nations in general, welcomed this document as a constructive effort to lead to results, no matter how small, that is, to relaxation of tension. We asked for a meeting between the President of USA and Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, that they might show, at least by the way, before the representatives of the whole world, their good will, to demonstrate that they take account of the ideas and opinions of other nations, of the vast majority of mankind, who are wanting peace, to show that they wish to sacrifice some of their prestige in the interests of peace, in the interests of mankind.

Although we hoped that such a resolution which was very short and clear, would not have opponents, unfortunately the worst happened — by various machinations in connection with procedure the passing of the resolution as we moved it, was prevented. You know that the Australian representative submitted his amendment to that resolution, which actually constitutes not an amendment but an entire new resolution in a quite different tenor. And when the Assembly turned down this amendment, another amendment was produced which by various tricks was made to divide that majority which declared itself in favour of the resolution by 42 to 37. In this way we, the representatives of non-committed countries were placed in such a situation as to have to withdraw our resolution rather than leave it incomplete, as otherwise it would have been deprived of that spirit with which we inspired it. Thus we nevertheless did our duty and the whole world now knows that at this Assembly, regardless of procedure and various machinations, the majority is in favour of relaxation and not for further aggravation and bringing of the cold war to the Assembly. The moral victory is on our side. True, today, the full effect of that victory is not yet in evidence, but it will be seen in the further development of international relations.

At the 15th Assembly seventeen new members have been admitted, primarily African countries, which are all deeply imbued with the wish for peace, because they are poor and undeveloped, and they would like now, when they have achieved their independence, to rise, under as normal conditions as

possible, from their undeveloped state and to contribute, along with all peace-loving peoples in the world, that mankind might be saved from a new catastrophe.

At the 15th Assembly a new phenomenon occurred which the big powers did not expect. A new force has come to full expression. True, it had latently existed even before, it was here, but they did not admit it, under-estimated it and spoke about it as an attempt to create the third bloc, etc. This new force, which has obtained expression, does not belong to blocs. It is deeply imbued with the wish for peace and truly represent not only the wishes of the peoples of their countries but also the wishes of the whole progressive and peace-loving mankind. This force has grown so much that the big powers have also started to take it into account. True, there were different attempts, particularly from the part of some western circles, for which I could not say that they are just peace-loving, to somehow disunite this force, to introduce in it an element of confusion and such like, — but this has failed. The non-committed forces, which, as you know well, include India, the U. A. R., Indonesia, Yugoslavia, Ghana and other countries, among which, I may say, are almost all the African and almost all the Asian countries, except China and some other countries, — constitute a magnificent number, a huge part of mankind. This force came to fruition and therein is the victory we accomplished. And the undeveloped countries, no matter how much they need material, technical and every other help — are not disposed to renounce their principles for the sake of this help.

They want peace. They do not want to be a voting machine, but they want to preserve their individuality and freedom of their countries, so that they could act freely for the relaxation of tension in the world, and that they could express what they think. While there was once a continuous fluctuation in the Organization of United Nations, today there is no such a thing. I think, and I am deeply convinced that in the hearts of these peoples there exist the same wish, as is the case with all other peace-loving nations, to express freely their thoughts and aspirations.

The new countries, who have now become members of the United Nations, represent the most undeveloped areas of Africa. They still are not able to come to their full expression, as they are linked with numerous ties to their metropolis etc., but these countries have already shown what way they will take. Their activity will strengthen even more the forces of peace, so that the great powers who today, generally speaking, still speak from the position of power — will have to take into account the voice of the whole of mankind, and this is a powerful voice.

The United Nations is of essential importance just for these small and these under-developed countries of Africa and Asia. You are aware of the fact that there was a proposal submitted to the United Nations — though not during my stay there, as at that time it was not officially submitted — to reorganize the United Nations Organization. Of course, such a tendency to reorganize the United Nations, especially because of the developments in Congo, was not accepted by the majority of members of the organization.

Why? Because these countries are afraid to lose, even temporarily, this only hope in the present tense international situation. They are afraid because, if this reorganization were undertaken, it would take more than one year to execute this procedure, to change the Constitution of the United Nations. And what might happen during this time to these countries? Wouldn't there be attempts to bring the spirit of the cold war

into these countries, which achieved their independence in various ways? And there, where the conditions are not settled yet, there would not only be cold war but due to various machinations, there would be armed conflicts and civil wars, with immense negative consequences for these peoples.

In our speeches we have, of course, given priority to the colonial questions — the question of the Congo, Algeria etc. We extended full support to the Congolese lawful government, requesting that those negative actions, which have only just found expression, be corrected, which is possible, because it is easier to correct than to start from the beginning. This attitude of ours there, met with a strong approval of all these countries and Yugoslavia affirmed herself again, because, as you may know we did not wait for others to show us our way in the United Nations. We took the stand and said what we thought also on the Algerian and Congolese questions, as well as other matters, and did not hesitate to criticise openly some actions of certain circles of the United Nations Organization.

Therefore, we view things purely realistically and do not take into account only our own interests. For, sometimes we make sacrifices — and subordinate our own interests to the interests of mankind, the interests of peace. We have made it known clearly that we cannot agree now to such changes at short notice, as would land the United Nations in a chaotic situation although we admit and have said so to the statesmen with whom we had contacts, that we think something for the better should be changed organizationally in the United Nations but not to the detriment of its functioning. For, today there are already about 100 states, and tomorrow there will be over one hundred members, in the United Nations and, of course, the present organization will not be suitable for the proper functioning, but it will be necessary to find new, better and more suitable forms, which will be even more capable to ensure the proper functioning of that organization.

Although, as you have seen, we have not succeeded in a full measure to have our resolution adopted in effect, I think we can be satisfied and that what is happening today in the United Nations General Assembly should not discourage us. We have estimated our strength, the value of this peaceful strength, and we must pledge ourselves even more actively and work indefatigably in the direction which we have already determined, in order to bring about a relaxation — for if the countries which stand outside blocs were to be only observers

and if they failed to invest all their strength for the preservation of peace and realization of cooperation, this might result in a great tragedy for the whole of mankind.

Of course further development of events in the United Nations is not so very encouraging.

But, you have read, you have had an opportunity to see that many more good speeches were made in the United Nations, speeches which expressed the profound concern and a wish to bring about a relaxation in the world, and primarily in this highest forum.

You have seen that we resolutely expressed our opinion about everything we considered might have negative consequences, and everywhere boldly set out our attitude regardless of any opinions about it and regardless of how this might be reflected on bilateral or personal relations.

How do we view the future situation?

I think, we should not be too pessimistic, nor over-optimistic. For, what happened early at this Session, when a large number of states and peoples decided to resolutely rise against every attempt to solve international problems on the basis, of bloc considerations and when it was seen that a voting machine would be less and less decisive here, — all this clearly shows that these men will also have to ponder carefully and see about taking another course. What has happened so far, will have its positive effect only later on.

The second and the main question, one of the greatest that oppress the whole of mankind, was the question of disarmament. We were the first to point out our attitude, to explain our views on that question. There could be no one to blame us, for instance, that, in this case, we follow the conceptions of the Soviet Union. Because this is our attitude, as well. We are also of the opinion that it would be ideal if it were possible to carry out general disarmament. But we treated these things realistically there and asked that something at least should be done, that this question, should begin to be solved by degrees, so that the world might see that good will exists on both sides. I am not going to enter into all the motives by which the West is guided in rejecting the Soviet proposal, which we, understandably, support, just as we support the attitude of the Soviet Union on the colonial problem, as this is our attitude as well. We cannot act differently nor pay attention to what one or other side would like, we cannot renounce our principles and attitude which we have always held. But this is not a new attitude, this is an attitude taken long ago.

And, of course, on the disarmament question in the United Nations we extended full support to the attitude of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, instead of giving priority to the colonial question or to the disarmament question, or vice versa, these two important questions were relegated to the background. It is clear that, when the situation in the General Assembly was aggravated the regular process of their consideration was made more difficult. But for this no one can blame us, the non-committed forces, but those others.

I must say that this time in the United Nations I gained great experience. I was able to see there a great deal — and I did not spare efforts to do so — and to have talks with as many statesmen as possible belonging to the one, the other or the third side, to learn quite a lot and to see where are hidden those forces which represent the protagonists of the cold war. This time I saw this and it was very instructive for me.

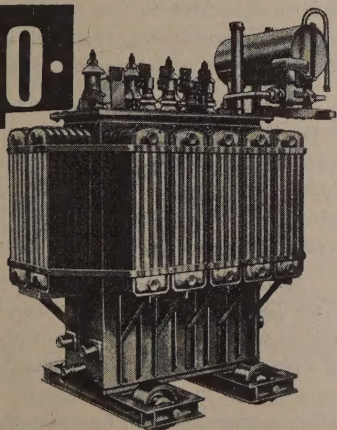
I and all those who were there felt very disappointed, for instance, with the stand taken by the Canadian and Australian

DINAMO.



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representatives, who poured oil on fire and, I must say, to a certain extent with the stand of the British representative, whom we expected to act towards relaxation of the very tense atmosphere in the United Nations. It was a disappointment for us, but it did not discourage us in our efforts to do everything possible to contribute at least something to this relaxation.

I am happy that I was satisfied this time, at this Assembly, in meetings with various statesmen, especially in talks with representatives of non-bloc countries, about the remarkable unity of views on the most important questions which trouble the world today. And this is not something that occurred all of a sudden. This has been entrusted to these friends of ours as a duty by their peoples. We shall endeavour in the future too, without sparing any efforts, to be in closest touch with these friends, and not only from time to time, through the United Nations, but shall at every place and always endeavour to act as a force of peace and do everything to see that those who will be the defenders of peace should get an opportunity to express themselves.

There were tendencies to represent Yugoslavia as increasingly ceasing to be interesting as a factor in international relations. This time again it turned out that this was not correct. Not because we might have achieved through some machinations or agitation that Yugoslav prestige be strengthened even more, but because we have set forth our attitudes of principle, because we have been consistent in our policy, no matter what consequences this might have for us later.

CURRENT TOPIC

The Congo and the "Civilized" World

In the present phase of localization of the crisis in the Congo, which is of a peculiar character, it seems as if the international community has performed its essential role of intermediary, and that the fate of the Congolese is now in their own hands. Under this impression and, in view of the regional, tribal, factionist and personal ambitions and of the moves and the squaring of old scores in the Congo itself, the opinion is beginning to appear that the Congolese themselves are to blame for the new internal confusion and for the tragic protracting of its final settlement, because of their political immaturity and inconsistency, their lack of statesmanship and their lack of sense of governmental and administrative organization. The Congo is now growing into a "sensational" illustration of the well-known theory of the inferiority of the black races and the necessity of the presence of "civilized" white men in Africa, as masters, tutors and guardians.

Apart from certain historical reminiscences, which would take us back to the history of struggle for power and predominance in the countries that are now waving the banner of civilization, and which would divest many of the moral right to cry shame on scenes which are far from being so brutal as, let us say, those that inspired Shakespeare, it is sufficient to establish two things: first, that the backwardness in Africa, in

In the course of the Fifteenth Session Yugoslavia has won a great reputation, and credit for this goes only to you, to our peoples, who so persistently with such dignity have supported the attitudes taken by us who are responsible for the foreign policy. For, in the United Nations, we were also backed by the Yugoslav nineteen-million nation. For this reason we were able to give in full measure our vote to that part of mankind who are for peace and progress in the world.

When we speak about peaceful coexistence, then it may be said to have been confirmed by the fact that a vast majority of states, particularly those economically undeveloped, both small and big, have welcomed it as the only way to save mankind from a new catastrophe. What kind of coexistence can there be in the cold war, when there is a constant danger of a new catastrophe? This is not coexistence, this is cold war, and the policy of coexistence calls upon men to sit at table, to come to an understanding and agree that they will not solve international problems from the position of power and to proclaim war, as a means of settling international problems, unlawful in the world, and begin to settle the problems confronting us in a peaceful way.

It is clear to every one today that there can be no active and peaceful coexistence if we lived in a small way side by side, but that it is necessary to actively cooperate on various questions, economic, cultural and such like, to cross out the word "bloc division" from the international vocabulary and to keep strengthening the common viewpoint in the world that peace is above all and that everything else must be subordinated to it."

general, and in the Congo, in particular, is the result of systematic oppression by civilized Europe, which lasted for long ages; second, that the economic, cultural, scientific and other progress of Europe is largely based on the pitiless exploitation of the riches of the African countries. Consequently, cynicism and moral lectures are out of place where only remorse and good will to redress a great historical injustice through rendering effective assistance and support, should be present.

On the other hand, in the knot of confusion and despair in the Congo today we may discern the moves of the white colonists and other political combiners camouflaged either skilfully or awkwardly. It was they who provoked the Congo crisis, and it is they who are doing their utmost to prolong it until it takes a turn in favour of the interested forces or persons.

Accordingly, the explanation for the three governments in the Congo for its parliament without members, its ministries without ministers and its army without commanders should be looked for, not so much in the Congo itself, but to a far greater extent in the interference of those who are trying to exploit a tragic situation they have themselves brought about, to discredit the new, independent countries of Africa.

British Labour Party and Atomic Policy

Strengthening of the Left Wing at the Labour Congress

By N. DUBRAVČIĆ

The left wing forces of the Labour Party, who support the Socialist programme and its anti-nuclear policy, gained greater influence at the annual Labour Conference, held at Scarborough from October 3 to 7, than they had ever done before. Two problems occupied the place of importance: unity in the Labour Movement and atomic armament. These problems are inter-related to an extent which makes them dependent on one another.

On the first day of the Conference, when the new Executive Board of the Party was elected, it was already manifest that the left wing enjoyed broad support among the members. Ian Mickardo, leader of the "Victory of Socialism" group, who are fighting against the reformist and opportunist views of the right wing, and Lena Jager, the well-known opponent of the atomic policy conducted by the Labour Party leadership were elected to the new Board.

The strengthening of the left wing groups was also demonstrated by the adoption of a document on the adherence of the Party to Socialist principles. In this document the struggle of the Labour Party for a socialist order in society is insisted upon, and public ownership of the means of production proclaimed as the economic aim of the movement. By this last is understood a combination of state enterprises, co-operatives and the participation of the state and the trade unions in private joint-stock companies. The objection of the left wing (Cousins) to this mixed type of economy is that public ownership, if so conceived, does not afford a sufficiently wide basis for the community to hold a commanding position in the economic life of the country, and thus socialization is obviously curtailed.

But in spite of deficiency and vagueness in the formulation of the basis and mechanism of such a social order, the adoption of the document is nevertheless significant for the Labour Movement, in present conditions. If the mood at the Conference may be taken as a proof of profound change and evolution among the members as a whole, the reformist is about to lose the battle for alienating the Labour Party from the Socialist Programme.

The defeat of the declaration on the defence policy of the Party put forward by the Executive Board and the General Council of the Trade Unions — the official leaders of the Labour Movement — is of paramount importance to the evolution of Labour. In this declaration the leaders proposed that Great Britain should remain in the system of nuclear strategy of the NATO Pact, but not possess atomic weapons herself. According to this conception, the Americans would have possession of nuclear missiles and bombs for retaliation, while Great Britain would be included in this plan as an ally and co-worker. This attitude on the part of the leaders is a somewhat modified one. Unlike his former stand in favour of unreserved participation in the Atlantic policy, Gaitskell

now criticizes NATO's nuclear strategy, but rejects any idea of Great Britain's abandoning this military alliance.

According to Gaitskell, Britain's break with the Atlantic Pact would lead to the liquidation of the Western military and political alliance, and the Americans would hand over Britain's role in it to Western Germany. Accordingly, the Labour leaders sanction the participation of Great Britain in NATO and accept the nuclear armament of NATO as the basis of their defence policy.

The Congress rejected this conception, and adopted the resolutions of the Machine Construction Workers Union and of Cousins' Transport and General Workers Union. These resolutions call for the discontinuation of testing, producing and stocking nuclear weapons, the abolishment of military bases for any British or American nuclear weapons on British soil, and abstinence from participation in any kind of policy based on the threat of nuclear weapons.

According to Cousins' conception, which was practical and realistic, in the present conditions Great Britain is unable to play any political role whatsoever in the mechanism of the Atlantic Pact, which is based on the strategy of nuclear threats and retaliation.

What is at stake in all this is not so much the fate of the Atlantic Pact as that of Britain, for which any linking with the conception of nuclear war would mean self-destruction. On the other hand, if Britain were free from military engagements and atomic weapons, she would be able to exert a constructive influence, not only on the policies of West and East, but in the wide region of the uncommitted countries. In elaborating this point of view Michael Foot pointed out that the solution of world problems must lead to the dissolution of the existing blocs. In this connection he emphasized the constructive role of the uncommitted countries of India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, the UAR and Ghana.

The adoption of these views, along with the document proclaiming the struggle for the creation of a new social order based on the socialist principle of public ownership, may introduce a new chapter in the history of the British Labour Movement. Last year the movement took a revolutionary turn which bore all the marks of a rebirth. While the Labour leaders conducted the party, as a political organization along the reformist path of compromise, which did not differ greatly from the foreign policy of the Conservatives, the class organizations of the Labour Party, the Trade Unions, which according to their tradition, had stood aside from power politics up to then, put forward constructive political aims and pledged themselves to uphold the Socialist Programme of the Labour Party.

The mightiest of the trade unions, the Transport Workers Union, with a million votes out of the total six million repre-

sented at the Labour Party Congress, with their dynamic leader, Cousins, not only demanded the abandoning all aspects of nuclear policy but also proclaimed the vital principle that the struggle for socialism to achieve public ownership of the means of production, is far more important for the Labour Party than the election of a Labour Government which would not implement a socialist policy. Consequently, the Labour Movement must not make any compromise at the cost of the conscience and the aims of socialism.

The Transport Workers Union has done a great thing by throwing off the political lethargy of the Trade Unions and by taking consciously the path of radical political and social activity.

The growth of this new spirit made itself felt at the Scarborough Conference where, in the dramatic battle over atomic policy, the political adherence of the leaders now conducting the party was called into question.

But the difficulty is that the resolution of the unilateralists gained a simple but not two-thirds majority, which leaves the leaders in the position of being able, by the application of old parliamentary rules, to prevent its carrying into effect as the official policy of the Party.

The conflict within the Labour Party over atomic policy dates back to the first days when Attlee's cabinet pledged itself to build British nuclear armament. This conflict often provoked sharp disputes and crises in the Movement, but the nuclear policy of the leaders was never criticized or disapproved of so strongly as at Scarborough. This is no longer a revolt

of isolated socialist intellectuals, but an organized movement basing its conceptions on the contemporary technical and political changes which have occurred in the world, and linking the attitude towards the nuclear question with the struggle for the victory of Socialism in Britain. In recent years the left wing has grown both in number and in importance. To share off the political apathy of British society and to stimulate the Labour Movement, the left wing proceeded to more radical action and to stress its objectives, showing voters that if the Labour Party comes into power it will make fundamental changes in the social order and in the international policy of Great Britain. These are ideas which can give back the Labour Party not only its internal zeal, but also the mass support it had in the exciting days of 1945.

The Conservative press in Great Britain judged the anti-nuclear policy of the Labour Party as defeatist, especially at this moment when the cold conflict with the East is again becoming bitter. Others, however, see in the events of Scarborough a sign of a more serious gauging and criticism of the present political and military conceptions of the Atlantic Pact, a sign which is characteristic of the general mood, and not only that in Britain. The liberal Manchester Guardian, for instance, while disdainfully rejecting the views set forth at the Conference, considered its resistance to the Atlantic Pact as quite sincere. Taking this as point of departure, the Guardian warned the Washington leaders that they should regard the revolt at Scarborough as indicative of public opinion in Britain and take it into serious consideration when determining the policy to be pursued by the West.

Position and Function of the UNO Secretary General

Proposals for the Reorganization of the UNO Secretariat

By Milan BARTOŠ

WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS Charter was being formulated the question of how to set up the executive organ of this organization was raised, i. e., whether to establish a centralized secretariat for all the organs, or a number of administrative bodies connected with the individual chief and subsidiary organs.

The conception that all executive functions should be united in one organ — the Secretariat, headed by one person, the Secretary General, as the highest executive officer of the United Nations, prevailed. The placing alone of the Secretariat in line with the chief UNO organs made it into a body independent of the other basic organs, and the institution of the Secretary General assumed a political character. He is appointed by the General Assembly, but only at the recommendation of the Security Council, which means that two organs of the greatest political importance participate in his nomination.

In view of the full executive power given to the Secretary General from the very beginning, a discussion arose as to whether he should exercise it only himself, or through a body. While some, among whom the American delegation was particularly active, were in favour of the conception of government

leadership, and of the personal responsibility of the person invested with executive power, the view that the Secretary General should have the character of a leader of parliamentary government and share responsibility with his closest and highest co-workers, was defended with much less success. The conception of personal authority, personal responsibility and power concentrated in one person, prevailed. The assistants of the Secretary General, the present vice-secretaries, are only his exponents, whose position depends on the confidence the Secretary General bestows on his fellow-workers.

The omnipotence of the Secretary General was criticized even in the days of Trigve Lee. On the one hand, Trigve Lee was politically criticized, first of all, by the Soviet bloc, for not exerting his functions impartially. On the other hand, he was criticized by his own fellow-workers, who found that Trigve Lee governed despotically, allowing the position of the members of the staff to depend on the influence of various cliques and governments. But at the time when he was being criticized most strongly, Trigve Lee was given the greatest authority, and it was then that the new era of the so-called leadership government began in the United Nations. The position and

the authority of the Secretary General gained steadily in importance. Neither Trigve Lee in the first days of his function nor Dag Hammarskjöld, the present Secretary, during the whole time of his mandate, have ever regarded themselves as ordinary officials, but as political factors authorized to implement the policy of the United Nations, to take the initiative, even overstep their original authorization, convinced of their own good intentions and of the confidence of two mighty bodies — the General Assembly and the Security Council. It would be unreasonable to assert that they might have interpreted their own position otherwise than as was recognized by the attitude of the General Assembly.

The supporters of the leadership regime in the United Nations maintained the standpoint that this responsibility might entail the refusal of re-election, but that the Secretary General should remain in his post during his mandate. To make a fetish of terms and especially of the time limit of a mandate, seems to us exaggerated. The Secretary General is a servant of the United Nations after all, and he cannot exercise functions on behalf of the General Assembly or the Security Council unless he has the confidence of both bodies.

In the course of this year's session of the General Assembly two proposals were submitted concerning the modification of the status of the Secretary General. One was put forward by Nikita Khrushchev, head of the Soviet delegation and leader of the USSR government. He proposed that a body consisting of three Secretaries General, in lieu of one individual Secretary General, should be set up invested with executive powers in the United Nations. According to the interpretation given by Mr. Khrushchev to the journalists, at Black Pool on September 25, each of the three secretaries should have the right to veto the actions of the United Nations.

Apart from its good or bad points, this proposal implies in itself a modification of the structure of the UNO Secretariat. Accordingly, it implies a modification of the Charter. Hence, a complicated and lengthy procedure set forth for the modification of the Charter would be necessary for its adoption: the convening of the general meeting of the Constituent Assembly to decide upon this modification by a two-thirds majority. The change would not take effect unless the ratification instruments of at least two-thirds of the states had been exchanged, the ratification instruments of all the permanent Security Council members among them. It is doubtful whether the Soviet proposal could be applied constitutionally, even if Dag Hammarskjöld should voluntarily resign his post of Secretary General and the General Assembly decide to instal three Secretaries General instead of one. First of all, from the formal legal view, such a resolution would not be constitutional, because it would be contradictory to the Charter. Besides, I do not believe it would function smoothly from the political point of view, for the veto of only one member of this body might paralyze the functioning of the whole executive apparatus of the United Nations. On the other hand, I must say that from the legal aspect there are some arguments in favour of this proposal if the veto system existing in the Security Council, where a great many resolutions depend on the use of veto of its members, is taken into account. The interpretation and the application of resolutions subject to the system of veto may be compromised if it is entrusted to an organ on whom the states invested with veto power can exert no influence, or, as Mr. Khrushchev said, in whom they can have no confidence. In fact, Mr. Khrushchev demands that instead of one Secretary General, an executive organ of three Secretaries General should be set up, one of whom would represent the

capitalist countries, a second the socialist and a third the neutral countries. In this way, in lieu of the individual veto power of the permanent members, which exists in the Security Council, the veto power of blocs and the veto power of neutral countries would be secured. We find it difficult to understand such a division of countries in the United Nations. This would be a new path in the legal structure of the United Nations Organization, which might remove the individual power of the Secretary General, on the one hand, but might paralyze that body's power to a considerable extent, on the other, in the case of a reform of far-reaching consequences, which might become necessary if the implementation of disarmament should be started, but which on account of its far-reaching consequences would have to be subjected to long discussions and long examinations.

The other proposal was put forward by Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana and head of its delegation. His proposal differs greatly from Mr. Khrushchev's. He holds the view that the United Nations Secretariat should be organized so as to provide the Secretary General with three deputy secretaries, who would be acceptable to the West and the East blocs, as well as to the neutral countries, but who would not be their representatives. The evaluation of this proposal depends on what the relation between the Secretary General and his deputies would be. If the Secretary General were bound to consult his deputies, but entitled to take the final decision, which, as somebody said, was President Nkrumah's idea, then the adoption of this proposal would not necessarily mean the modification of the Charter, since the General Assembly may stipulate rules, and recommend the Secretary General to consult certain persons, without affecting his right to make final decisions, or his responsibility for his own actions.

The positive law of the United Nations provided for such an establishment of the post of the Secretary General has made him into the omnipotent and individual head of the administration and the highest UNO executive. The Charter stipulates that he is solely responsible for the executive service of the United Nations. All members of the staff work in his name and are under his responsibility as his agents. The Charter lays down that the service may also be organized so that it is performed according to the rules and regulations set forth by the General Assembly. But the Secretary General, though bound to observe these rules, is, according to the Charter, the mandatory of the executive functions of UNO. If the mandatory of these functions should be changed and a body appointed instead of one Secretary General, or if the Secretary General should be hindered in the exercise of his political functions by his deputies, all endowed with the right of veto, this would be a modification of his post. It would mean the modification of the basic rules of the Charter regarding the post of Secretary General, that is to say, a constitutional reform in the United Nations, entailing a long and complicated procedure for the modification of the Charter. For the time being this modification has not been initiated and there is little chance that it will be during this session of the General Assembly. But another item on the agenda, concerned with the problem, of the revision of the UNO Charter, is in sight.

This survey is limited to the legal aspects of the problem. The political aspect has been left for long discussions and arguments for and against such a revision, or a similar one. But legal aspect of this question has been formulated in the hope that it will secure the proper functioning of the United Nations in difficult political moments.

Experience will show whether future events will confirm this formulation.

A New Future for Nyasaland

By John HATCH

A year ago the British Parliament had just concluded five months of acrimonious debate on the British Government's policy in Nyasaland. The concluding act was a bitter debate on the report of the Devlin Commission, which the Government itself had set up to examine the situation leading to the emergency in Nyasaland resulting in more than 50 African deaths. The Report severely criticised the Government, which thereupon rejected those parts of it inconvenient to itself. The emergency continued, with the African leader, Dr. Hastings Banda, and several hundred of his colleagues, still in jail, detained without charge or trial.

The contrast this year could hardly be sharper. The Conference which has just concluded in Lancaster House, London, saw Dr. Banda not only released from prison, but accepted by Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod as the recognised leader of the 3 million strong Nyasaland African community. Moreover, the agreement which was reached secured the approval, not only of the Colonial Secretary but of Dr. Banda himself, and of the leading white settler politicians from Nyasaland. The constitution will come into force in a few months' time when the elections will be held and for the first time Africans will be entitled to elect their own members; they will also have a considerable majority in the legislature and strong representation in the Government of Nyasaland.

How has this miracle been brought about? It is largely due to the personality of Iain Macleod. This imperturbable Scotsman, before he entered the Government, was a famous international Bridge player. He even worked in the firm De la Rue which manufactures playing cards. He has certainly taken his Bridge finesse into his political life. When he was Minister of Health he had the temerity to challenge that noted debater, the late Aneurin Bevan, and to equal him in debate. As Minister of Labour he played his hand with industrialist and trade union leaders, gaining more success in avoiding major strikes. Now his sense of timing has been used to produce agreement between such intrasigent opponents as the African, Tom Mboya and the European, Mr. Michael Blundell of Kenya, with Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus, and now with the leaders of Nyasaland.

The agreement is also largely to the credit of Dr. Hastings Banda himself. Dr. Banda had been out of Nyasaland for 40 years before he returned there just two years ago. He had established a thriving medical practice in North London; after some educational experience in South Africa and America. Then he went to Ghana, for five years running a clinic in the Ashanti province and making sufficient money to be able to help in the finances of the Congress Party in Nyasaland, which had been largely inspired him, even though he was so far away. Last year he was one of the first to be arrested and detained in prison when the emergency was declared in March. He remained in the little white-washed co-

urtyard, kept normally for European prisoners, in Gwelo jail in Southern Rhodesia, until May this year. On his release he immediately renewed his efforts, now as leader of the Malawi Congress, both to obtain a new constitution for Nyasaland and to mobilize African opinion once more against Central African Federation. Almost every African in Nyasaland believes the Federation to be dominated by the white community of Southern Rhodesia.

When Dr. Banda arrived in London for the Conference last month he came with specific demands. The Legislative Council should have 55 members, 46 of whom would be directly elected by the Africans; all the members of the Executive Council or Government, should be drawn from the African elected members, except for 3 Civil Servants. The elections should be based on universal suffrage and the Government should have executive powers. The compromise he has now agreed to shows a sharp contrast. The Legislative Council is only to be composed of 33 members, of whom perhaps 20 will be Africans, and they will be elected on a roll whose qualifications will limit the number of electors to about 100,000 out of a total population of 3 million. The Executive Council will only be advisory to the Governor and probably only 3 of these 10 members will be Africans. Dr. Banda has accepted this severe modification of his demands because he believes that once the first step is taken towards African responsibility the others cannot lie far behind. What is more, he has been impressed with the Congo example of the dangers following lack of African preparation for control over the Government.

Dr. Banda's big task now will be to convince the wilder young men in his Party that he has not betrayed the African cause. There is considerable criticism of his leadership and he has several rivals who could like to step into his shoes. His immediate success in maintaining his position now depends on the timing of the first election. The fact that the European representatives also agreed to the new constitution exposes their weakness, for, after all, the permanent white settlers in Nyasaland number only about 4000. Yet European acceptance could well be held as proof of Dr. Banda's betrayal of the African cause. If the elections are postponed beyond the end of this year he is likely to face growing opposition. The issue is, whether the elections are held before the conference promised to review the Federal constitution, meets in London next February. If they are, then Dr. Banda will probably be safe for the time being, for he will thus be able to lead an elected African delegation to this conference, certainly, demanding the secession of Nyasaland from the Federation. If they are postponed beyond February, Dr. Banda's position will be much more dubious, for whatever the position of the Nyasaland delegation it will not be possible to claim that it has been elected by the people of Nyasaland.

An Artificial Creation

Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

By G. B. CHEWE

THE BIG AND POWERFUL African continent is marching towards freedom, towards liberation from the yoke of exploitation and colonialist subjugation. The right of its people to self-determination is their birthright, which can be prescribed by no man or nation. Northern Rhodesia stays apart from the advancing Africa; but it cannot remain a country the majority of whose people are under the power and exploitation of a selfish minority of colonialists.

Northern Rhodesia is a member of the so-called Central-African Federation, which consists of three territories: Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are British protectorates, closely linked together; Southern Rhodesia is a crown colony.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

Economically, the Federation depends upon copper from Northern Rhodesia and tobacco from Southern Rhodesia. By Nature it is a very rich country, with a lot of fertile land, large rivers, and still untapped mineral wealth.

As for modern development, Southern Rhodesia is far ahead of the two protectorates, but it has gone further as regards the humiliating racial policy; although new changes have been made in its Constitution, they have brought nothing to the African majority. Racial segregation in Southern Rhodesia is almost worse than that in the Union of South Africa. It follows that the progress of that country is of no significance to the Africans. Northern Rhodesia is close behind Southern Rhodesia in this respect; the same deplorable situation obtains there.

POPULATION

No one has tried to make an exact census of the African population, but the following figures are usually accepted as correct:

	Africans	Europeans	Others
Northern Rhodesia	3,000,000	65,000	
Southern Rhodesia	3,000,000	160,000	
Nyasaland	4,000,000	7,000	
Total	10,000,000	232,000	20,000

The two northern territories came under British rule through agreements between tribal chiefs, representing the people, and representatives of Queen

Victoria. The agreements promised that the native population would be conscientiously prepared for self-government. The population was placed under the protectorate only to be protected from the bad people such as the French, Portuguese, Belgians, Italians, and others — the people who at the same time made the same kinds of agreements elsewhere, or murdered, looted and grabbed in the name of the same kind of protectorate and protection. The African chiefs — who, it is true, were distrustful, but they did not understand the matter — surrendered their rights of exploitation of mineral resources to a small number of companies, which were supposed to be their protectors; thus, up to now, the people have remained without the right to their mineral wealth.

Southern Rhodesia was less fortunate: it fell under the British through treachery, and was exposed to plunder and enslavement which the conquerors even today describe as a gift from Heaven.

FEDERATION IMPOSED

However, the colonialists in Southern Rhodesia felt they would not be safe as long as the two northern territories remained protectorates and were advancing towards African self-government. So they made all their efforts to obtain the federation from the British Government; they succeeded in 1953, and thus the British Government lost control over these territories.

The Africans did all they could to prevent the imposing of the federation; they sent delegation after delegation to Britain, petitioned the Queen, appealed to the UN Secretary-General — but all without success.

Still, one point was clearly stated in the Constitution: that this Constitution was not to be changed within a period of seven to ten years, and that a conference should be held in about 1960 to decide whether the federation should be continued or abandoned.

But contrary to these provision, the British Government, in agreement with the Government of the Federation, carried out three major changes of the Constitution before the set limit had expired and without any consultation with the Africans. These changes clearly showed that the colonialists, together with the British Government, wished to make another South Africa of the Federation, where the minority would forever subjugate the majority.

REPRESENTATIVES IN FEDERATION ASSEMBLY

In the beginning, in 1953, the Federal Government had thirty-five members, representing the three territories in the Federal Assembly. Only eight of

those members were Africans. After the 1957 change of the Constitution, the number rose to fifty-nine, only twelve of whom were Africans. By the very nature of the election system, these Africans were so elected that it cannot be said they represent the African people; they are all political traitors who only repeat their master's voice.

The African political parties in all three territories, which means the entire active African population, have remained firmly in opposition to the Federation from its very creation. They refused and continue to refuse to take part in an association which infringes their basic human rights. Many have lost their lives for this reason; even today it happens; a hundred people were killed in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in 1959, and eleven in Southern Rhodesia this year.

On the other hand, the colonialists are determined to gain dominion status this year or the next, so as to prevent any interference from the British Government. A dark cloud hangs over the heads of ten million Africans in Central Africa; should this storm cloud break, Central Africa would be lost to the free world for many years to come. While the Africans of Central Africa are heroically struggling against the colonialists who are backed by American capital, they are going to need material and moral help from freedom-loving people all over the world.

CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION IN TERRITORIES

In Nyasaland, the changes in the Constitution were good and really beneficial to the people.

In Northern Rhodesia, the change in the Constitution was inhuman, as it even narrowed the rights of Africans; before the Federation, they had a much qualified right to vote: now the qualifying conditions have been increased.

In South Rhodesia, the change of the Constitution is just under way, but it will not enable the Africans to elect real representatives; their interests will still be represented by political traitors.

The people in Northern Rhodesia are demanding independence by October this year; there will be a great deal of trouble if the British Government does not accede.

In short, I should like to end up by appealing to all of you, and through you to those whom you represent and can influence. There is only one road to peace; technical disarmament can pave the way to real peace, but the present tension can be removed only by the equality and freedom of all peoples, and by respect for their territorial integrity and national independence — all this through peaceful coexistence. If the colonies and the subjugated countries are not freed in the near future, irrespective of whether disarmament is carried out, there will be no good prospects for peace. Peace is not divisible, nor can we be divided in our wish to preserve it.

The Second Regional Conference of the Arab National UNESCO Commissions

By Dušan POPOVIĆ

HAVING met in the Moroccan town of Fez in 1958, Beirut was place chosen for the meeting of the representatives of the Arab National Commission for UNESCO in August and early in September this year. This second regional conference of the National Commissions confirmed once again the usefulness of Inter-Arab co-operation in the fields of education, science and culture. The conference manifested a unanimous wish to continue such conferences as regular consultations of the Arab delegations, prior to each UNESCO General Assembly.

The holding of regional conferences is in itself proof of the significant development of a number of Arabian countries in the short period following their obtaining of independence. These countries have established themselves to such a degree that extensive activity in education, science and culture is becoming one of the most important factors in their further development.

The forces engaged in this activity are steadily increasing in number, and the results attained are tellingly affecting those major problems upon whose

solution depends the casting of the heritage of the European colonists. At the same time there is the question of how to extend activities in the quickest, cheapest and most efficient way, how to mobilize the existing material and the human forces and how to recruit fresh ones. Faced with such difficulties and tasks, the Arab countries are quite naturally trying to find a means of facilitating their solution by jointly approaching problems which are more or less similar. They are also making efforts to find the best places in various international organizations so that within their framework and by taking the greatest possible advantage of foreign experience and material means, they may act efficiently in their own national conditions. UNESCO is undoubtedly the widest and strongest international organization for the achievement of this twofold Inter-Arab and international co-operation for solving national, educational, scientific and cultural problems. Hence the regional conferences of the National Commissions for UNESCO are playing an increasingly important role in the efforts of the individual countries to choose the best way to promote

their own activities in all fields of cultural life. It is noticeable that the individual national commissions observe and formulate questions of great importance to other Arab countries too, so that their mutual exchange of experiences is very useful. Accordingly, the regional conferences are also instruments for advancing the cultural policy pursued by the Arab countries.

Thus it is not surprising that in questions of cultural policy, when treated within such broad framework, different tendencies should be manifested. The most marked are those that are striving for the common approach of all Arab countries to the problems involved, and those that, while using the necessity of co-operation as their point of departure, stress that the specific character and independence of each Arab country should be respected, both when working out concrete proposals, and when carrying them into practice. At the Beirut conference the majority of the delegations displayed this latter trend. But it should be emphasized that the conference showed a high degree of unity in respect of most of the suggestions and resolutions adopted there.

The attention of the conference was focused on the UNESCO programme and budget for 1961 and 1962. Several national commissions had carefully studied the documents for the forthcoming Eleventh General Assembly, and they came to Beirut with suggestions for additions and modifications to the proposed programme and budget, characterized, in general, by the demand that the Arab countries should participate to a greater extent in these projects. In accordance with this the conference adopted numerous suggestions and decisions concerning educational and cultural work, natural and social sciences, cultural relations, information and exchange of experts, most of which were formulated concretely and precisely.

The interest taken by all the delegation in the technical assistance and other support afforded to UNESCO member countries was particularly marked. Technical assistance was found not to have yielded the expected results so far and the suggestion was made that special attention should be paid to the study of the problems of technical assistance, especially concerning the choice of projects (long-term projects were definitely preferred), and to the need for well-organized co-operation with foreign experts, and the training of a sufficient number of domestic experts so as to enable them to help the former in their work. The increased number of scholarships granted to the Arab countries was favourably commented on, but with the reservation that they were still far from covering needs. The general mood was almost unanimously in favour of reducing the number of experts sent by UNESCO to the Arab countries, with a simultaneous increase in scholarships for the training of Arabian students abroad. It was emphasized that the students should be better informed about opportunities and conditions for obtaining foreign scholarships.

Further important suggestions and resolutions put forward at the conference included a demand that in addition to English, Russian, French and Spanish, Arabic should be used by UNESCO, a recommendation that all the Arab countries should become

members of UNESCO and a resolution on the strengthening of further co-operation between the Arabian National Commission for UNESCO.

In composition, the Second Regional Conference was more representative than the first. All the Arab countries were represented in Beirut — not only Morocco, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the Sudan, Tunisia, the Lebanon and Lybia, which are UNESCO members — but also Yemen, Kuwait, Katar and Bahrain, which are not. Algeria, the Arabs from Palestine, and the Arabian League were also represented.

On account of the presence of a representative of the Provisional Government of Algeria, the Conference was not attended by the UNESCO representative. A cable was sent to the director-general of UNESCO, protesting against this absence, for which, it was stressed, there were neither legal or any other justified reason.

The Lebanese National Commission for UNESCO, the organizer of the conference, had invited the National Commissions of the Mediterranean countries to send observers. On learning that the Provisional Government of Algeria had received such an invitation, France abstained from sending her own observer. The National Commission of Turkey was not represented either. The Yugoslav National Commission for UNESCO, which cherishes most carefully co-operation with the Arab countries, sent its representative to the Conference and, through him, greetings to all the Arab delegations, with good wishes for its success.

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Underdeveloped Countries and International Trade

By R. MILIĆ

Among the many problems of the underdeveloped countries trade is becoming increasingly important. Since the end of the war the problem of the economic development of underdeveloped countries has always been viewed primarily from the angle of economic assistance. This is quite natural, since the development of these countries cannot be imagined without foreign aid, new forms of which appear every day. It is sufficient to refer to the negotiations soon to be terminated about the formation of the International Development Association (IDA), which is to serve solely for the financing of projects in the underdeveloped countries, on far more favourable terms than the regular loans granted by the International Bank, and to the recently started talks on the setting up of special international organizations to render financial assistance to the newly liberated African countries.

The trade of the underdeveloped countries, the main support of their economic development, is gaining in importance. On account of their growing need for imports to maintain a satisfactory rate of development, on the one hand, and the relatively diminishing share the underdeveloped countries obtain from their participation in international trade, on the other, the discrepancy between their requirements and their opportunities is deepening more and more. The question of whether the financial aid rendered to the underdeveloped countries is sufficient at present to bridge this discrepancy and especially whether it will be so in the future, is quite justifiably raised.

The available statistics show that the total export surplus of the underdeveloped countries amounted in 1928 to 1,800 million dollars, representing the sum of about 3 milliard according to the current value of the dollar. Immediately after the Second World War the export surplus reached the value of 2.7 milliard dollars thanks to the favourable prices of the primary products exported by the underdeveloped countries. But after the end of the Korean War, the situation steadily deteriorated, so that in the trade of the underdeveloped countries there was a deficit of about 3.6 milliard dollars in 1957, and more than 4 milliard in 1958. The deficit in the payments balance of the underdeveloped countries in 1958 showed more or less the same figures. This deficit was partly covered by financial aid and loans, and partly by the reserves of the underdeveloped countries.

But the reserves of these countries are not inexhaustible.

They have now reached a critical level and in view of the uncertain or even unfavourable prospects of their export earnings, the growing need for imports to secure an adequate pace of economic growth, and the instalments to be paid to liquidate the loans, they will hardly play an important role in covering the deficit in the payments balance.

Will financial assistance to the underdeveloped countries grow at a rate which is sufficient to cover the inevitable gaps, and will the terms be acceptable to them? As matters now stand, both can be called into doubt.

Consequently, there remains the relatively more favourable solution of shifting the centre of gravity of the financing of economic development to trade, to the increase of export, and to its accommodation to the growing need for import. In other words, this would mean that the underdeveloped countries should rely upon their own sources to an increasing degree, and depend on foreign funds to a lesser extent. Thus it is not surprising that the efforts of the underdeveloped countries should be more and more focussed on the improvement of conditions for export, within the framework of international trade.

But the tendency in international trade is counteracting these efforts, and endangering the present position of the underdeveloped countries. Thus, the venture of these countries is not insignificant, and deserves the greatest attention, for its aim is to secure the place which is due to them in international trade, both in their own interests and in that of international trade in general.

From the available statistics it also appears that the share of the underdeveloped countries in the total volume of international trade has been steadily dwindling, especially in the last few years. The total volume of world trade is increasing, but the export percentage from underdeveloped to developed countries is decreasing, while the import volume is more or less stable.

This is illustrated by the following table:

	Exports from underdeveloped to developed countries		Imports of underdeveloped from developed countries	
	in milliard dollars	world trade percentage	in milliard dollars	world trade percentage
1953	18.96	26.6	18.88	25.3
1954	19.47	25.7	19.72	26.1
1955	20.94	25.0	21.25	25.3
1956	22.46	24.1	23.59	25.3
1957 first half-year	23.00	22.8	26.12	25.9
1957 second half-year	22.26	22.2	26.90	26.8
1958 first half-year	21.71	23.0	25.56	27.1
1958 second half-year	21.71	22.3	25.72	26.5

(The above data refer to world trade, with the exception of the trade of the U. S. S. R. and other East European countries.)

The reasons for this relative decline are manifold, some of them causing reduced prices of export goods from underdeveloped countries, and others reduced quantities of export goods. Hence the problem of the trade of underdeveloped countries involves two or, to be more accurate, three crucial questions: first, the question of the stabilization of export prices and through it the stabilization of the export earnings of the underdeveloped countries (in the present unfavourable conditions the underdeveloped countries earn less foreign currency, even with an eventual increase in their exported quantities); second, the question of enlarging the export volume from

the underdeveloped countries, or of the removal of the special obstacles put by the developed countries in the way of the imports of raw materials and agricultural products from the underdeveloped countries. The third question concerns the removal of the impediments to the imports of industrial products from underdeveloped countries, where development has reached a level enabling them to export industrial products on a certain scale. The restrictions imposed on these imports of industrial products are motivated by low wages or low prices, which is an attempt to frustrate the effect of the only advantage with which the underdeveloped countries enter international competition: the effect of low wages.

All this shows a tendency to widen the difference between the developed and underdeveloped countries which, if continued, may have political repercussions. But this may also entail repercussions in the trade of the developed countries. The crux of the matter is this: How long will the underdeveloped countries be able to maintain their increased import volume from the developed countries, if their own exports keep lagging behind? Now when the number of underdeveloped countries, which were colonies until recently and have achieved independence, is constantly growing, and when it is quite natural that they should begin their own industrial development, this problem is assuming growing proportions. The potential import of the underdeveloped countries is on the increase, while the financial aid rendered to them covers a decreasing percentage in proportion, so that not only an increased financial contribution from the developed areas, but the creation of greater possibilities for the expansion of the export trade of the underdeveloped countries, may be normally expected.

In the reverse case, the discrepancy will become still more marked, to the detriment of both the economic development of the underdeveloped countries and the export from developed countries, which is an important element in the latter's own conjuncture, with a bearing on full employment and economic stability.

The problem of the trade of underdeveloped countries is gaining in importance with the strengthening of the tendency towards integration in the developed areas — a circumstance raised more and more frequently and in a more and more acute form in GATT and other international forums. Both EEZ and EFTA, especially the former, were the targets of sharp attacks from many underdeveloped countries, in the first place on account of the tendency to reinforce the barriers for many of their export products, and also on account of the preference in favour of the "associated" territories, mainly from Africa, to the detriment of other underdeveloped countries, by which a dangerous division is being created among them.

It is no wonder that the trade of the underdeveloped countries, like all the other problems of their economic development, should have become one of the elements of the cold war.

It is perhaps owing to this that the West is holding out better prospects to the underdeveloped countries and recognizes, at least in its declarations, that these problems exist, and that there good will exists for the solving of them.

The consent of the developed countries to the formation of two separate committees in GATT, one concerned with agrarian subsidizing and the other with the special obstacles precluding exports from the underdeveloped countries, only proves that the developed countries have come to understand that in order to promote the economic development of the underdeveloped countries something must be done, not only in the field of financing, but in that of trade too, with a view to providing it with a secure base. The prospects of the success of this action are still uncertain, but judging by the facts they are, in all probability, poor.

Realations between the USA and Western Europe inspired the well-known motto: "Trade not Aid." In the relations between the developed and underdeveloped countries there is no alternative. The motto can be only "Aid and Trade." It seems as if the underdeveloped world had said to the developed: *Hic Rhodus and were awaiting results.*

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

REORGANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION OF PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

By Milorad DOSTANIĆ

SINCE THE INTRODUCTION of the communal system in 1955 a great deal of work has been done to determine the status and the role of communities and districts. The legislation regulating the competence of local self-government organs and the setting up a new territorial administrative division was particularly significant.

By these regulations two basic questions concerning the administrative organs of the People's Committees were settled:

- a) the general principle that communal administrations are organs of first rank competence was adopted;
- b) the independence of the administrative organs in performing their functions was strengthened, enabling them to perform

not only administrative and technical work, but to act on their own initiative.

These regulations are of great importance in defining the political attitude towards the organs of administration, as part of the general social system. However, it was evident from the beginning that for the successful work of these organs it was not sufficient to define their competence or to lay down other principles such as legality in work etc. There was also the question of the efficiency of their work. This was one of the most serious problems, which entailed a number of others, which could be solved by regulations only in part and within a limited scope. Such problems as the organization and method

of work of the administrative organs, the qualifications of their personnel, their technical equipment etc., have been adjusted by regulations to some extent, but some of them are still solved informally by all the factors concerned.

The thorough examination of the organization of the administration of People's Committees began in 1959. It is still in progress and is expected to remain on the agenda for a long time.

An analysis of problems arising in the administration of People's Committees was based on the following principles:

first, the administration should be better organized so as to enable it to function more efficiently in general, to utilize its personnel more fully, and to manage matters in a better and more adequate way;

second, it should be taken into account that the People's Committees should build their organization according to their own factual situation, that is to say, according to the problems they have to solve and to the personnel they have available;

third, the idea of basing the organization of the People's Committees on the pattern of republican and federal administrative organs was rejected at the outset. Such imitation had been largely practiced before, and proved inadequate, because it resulted in a lack of elasticity and in a too great number of organizational units with too many chiefs, which could not but affect the whole organization.

In the new regulations adopted by the Federal and Republican People's Assemblies the following basic principles are laid down:

1) The function of an administrative organ is to regulate, organize and render professional services. This means that its functions must be defined so as to prevent the possibility of its encroaching upon the independence of economic organizations or self-managed institutions, which implies that the function of the administrative organs is to watch the legality of work, to supervise the legality of actions of organizations and citizens, to function as organizers and to make professional preparation of matters to be submitted to the People's Committees.

Neither the present organization nor that prior to its reorganization would be adequate if the role of administrative organs were not interpreted in this sense. If the reverse were the case, the administration would have to be far more extensive, with a far greater number of employees and with a different kind of competence. But the structure of the administrative organs in People's Committees, if established in a different way, would call into question the whole system of self-government as the fundamental institution of the social system.

2) The basic principle for the determination of the number of personnel is a full utilization of working-time. The decisive factor for the number of administrative personnel and the status of administrative organs is not the importance but the volume of the work to be performed.

The application of this principle has resulted in amalgamation of administrative organs according to similarity of work performed and the professional training needed for it.

3) The principle of divided work in departments was abandoned, and replaced by the so-called principle of concentrated work. This principle was not applied as a pre-conceived scheme, but as an actually needed reform. It would be impossible to introduce departmental division in People's Committees where some of the affairs involved are either not dealt with at all, or only partially.

4) The People's Committees are independent in the organization of their own administration. They are only bound to observe the methods set forth for the determination of the number of their personnel.

It was on the basis of the analysis of such methods that the necessary number of personnel and the regulations for the setting up of administrative departments or sections were determined. The decisive factor was the number of personnel on which it depended whether departments or sections should be founded, or the work concentrated according to its similarity and the professional training of the personnel needed for its performance.

In order to organize the People's Committees on a completely new basis it was necessary to acquaint their personnel with the new methods which, though already applied extensively in other countries, had to be adapted to our specific conditions. This task has been fulfilled successfully, thanks both to the administrative organs specially concerned with methods of organization and to the individual institutes for public administration.

As pointed out already, the reorganization began in March 1959. Early in 1960, the People's Committees issued directives on the organization and systematization of their own organs.

The most important results achieved in the short period following the beginning of reorganization can be summed up as follows:

a) The number of organs in the People's Committees was considerably reduced. The reduction was 41.3 per cent in the District People's Committees, where formerly they averaged 20, while the present average is 14.

The number of the administrative organs in the People's Committees of the communes was simultaneously reduced by 45.6 per cent, the average of seven to a Committee being reduced to four. In many smaller communes (307 in number) only one administrative organ — the People's Committee Secretariat — was formed.

b) Through the reorganization, not only was the tendency towards sudden increase in the number of personnel checked, but the number of personnel was reduced by 67 per cent, notwithstanding the many new services introduced. Besides this, the filling of posts by employing personnel with insufficient professional qualifications was checked.

c) The administration has become far more homogenous since its reorganization and consequently it is more efficient when performing its tasks.

d) The position of the administration in the social system and its relations with the economy and other public services have been traced more distinctly. The possibility of the administration to interfere with matters outside its own competence has been diminished, for owing to their own better organization the administrative organs are not even physically able to do so — the number of their personnel is insufficient for such interference.

Though the work carried out so far should be considered only as a basis for a broader reform of the administration it is in any case a promising start.

Another advantage is the insight gained, through the work performed up to now, into many new problems waiting for solution. These problems include the reorganization of land registration (cadastres), road surveying, planning etc. In the course of reorganization a number of obsolete regulations were noted, and these will have to be changed and accommodated to the new situation.

ZELEZARNA JESENICE

THE JESENICE STEEL AND IRON WORKS

PRODUCES HIGH GRADE SHEET METAL



Production of the Jesenice Steel and Iron Works includes almost all important types of construction, tool and special steels. The bulk consists of first-rate and refined construction steels, comprising a range of unalloyed and alloyed construction steels for cementing and refining.

As regards the composition of its assortment the Jesenice Steel and Iron Works has in its production more than 50 per cent of various sheets. An outstanding place is held by ship-building and boiler sheets as well as by sheets for deep drawing and by stainless, fireproof and dynamo sheets. A portion of the output of thin and fine sheets is galvanized. The output of semi-products, profiles and rolled wire serves primarily for processing in the Mills' own processing plants. Only a smaller portion is intended for selling outside the Mills. The final products of the Mills are sold successfully on the domestic and foreign markets. The most important articles are drawn, turned and ground high-grade steels, cold rolled strips, drawn wire (black, galvanized, patent and barbed) welded galvanized pipes, welding electrodes and wire nails.

In the assortment of steel plates serving for many purposes in the industry, tin plate is increasing in importance from year to year. As this article has not been included in the production programmes of the Yugoslav Iron and Steel Works up to now, it was necessary to import more than 10,000 tons in various sizes of this material every year. For the purchase of this quantity, which does not seem large at first sight, Yugoslavia expended more than 2 million dollars per annum.

The need for tin plate increased in step with the enlargement and modernization of the food industry. According to estimates the actual requirements of the Yugoslav market for all kinds of tin plate are about 20,000 tons yearly. Out of this quantity about 6,000 tons are needed for the canning industry, where sheets with a thicker tin plating and of longer durability are required. The remaining quantity is used for various other industrial purposes, for which a thinner tin plating is preferred.

The rapid development of the Yugoslav food industry in general and of the canning industry in particular by 1951/1952 imposed the need for Yugoslavia to set up her own tin-plate production.

But the realization of this idea was linked with numerous problems and difficulties. Not only was it necessary to set up entirely new capacities for tin plating which were not available in the Yugoslav Iron and Steel Mills, but

also to secure the needful quantity of cold rolled strips and, prior to that the production of hot rolled steel strips, which were then scarce on the Yugoslav market.

The Jesenice Iron and Steel Works is starting production of sheet metal for electrical equipment. Half the volume of the total Yugoslav import of ferrous metals consists of sheets. Special sheet types are imported to a lesser extent, but the annual imports are nevertheless considerable. Many industrial branches, which are developing well, depend on imports of special sheets. This refers above all to the steam boiler factories, the electrical manufacturing, the machine construction and chemical industries etc.

The production of special sheets depends on the production of high-grade steel as well as on modern metallurgical plants, and on highly skilled workers. In Yugoslavia such conditions exist at present, at least to some extent, only in the Jesenice Iron and Steel Works.

But the cost of production is so high that for the time being only a few types of special sheets are being turned out.

The technology of the production of boiler sheets has been completely mastered, but owing to insufficient technical capacities the quantity produced does not yet cover the needs of the Yugoslav industry. The Machine Construction Industry, where boiler sheets are largely used, is compelled to supply its needs by imports. The annual import of boiler sheets ranges from 1,500 to 2,000 tons.

Transformer sheets and dynamo sheets are used in the electrical manufacturing industry for the production of transformers, various electrical equipment, apparatus etc. The manufacture of these sheets is very complicated. The first tests were made at Jesenice in the years immediately following the Second World War, but after two years of unsuccessful work the manufacture was discontinued. The machinery of the plant for thin rolling was found to be obsolete and unfit for the technological process of special sheet rolling. New tests were not made until the reconstruction of the plant for thin sheet rolling, which is now completely mechanized and, thanks to its modern equipment, answers better to the requirements of special sheet rolling.

The test rolling of transformer sheets in the Jesenice Iron and Steel Works have reached a stage advanced enough to allow the starting of regular production in the business year of 1960. In view of the present conditions of mechanization and raw material supply the output of transformer sheets will — according to estimates — reach about 1,000 tons per annum.



IN THE JESENICE STEEL AND IRON WORKS

»HEMPRO«

Enterprise for Import and Export of Chemicals

The HEMPRO Enterprise for import and export of chemicals founded after the end of the war in 1945, is today the largest Yugoslav foreign trade enterprise in the chemical sector. HEMPRO imports chemicals from 35 countries on all continents, and exports articles produced by the Yugoslav chemical industry to more than 70 countries. Thanks to its long experience and to its reputation, HEMPRO is constantly widening its circle of business connections by supplying the domestic industry with the necessary raw materials and finished products, and by marketing all the new lines the Yugoslav chemical industry produces in its rapid development.

HEMPRO imports all chemicals for the needs, of domestic factories, especially aniline dyes, fats, rubber (caoutchouc) various fertilizers and protectives for agriculture, and exports a wide assortment of Yugoslav chemical products. Hempro is particularly known as an exporter of matches, calcium carbide, hollow glassware, nitric acid, castor oil, essential oils, ammonium nitrate, bentonite, enamel paint, zinc oxide, minium, explosives and other chemicals.



HEMPRO is provided with technical equipment for the export, import and transit of all kinds of fats through the big port of Rijeka, which affords it great facilities for rendering services to its domestic and foreign clients. HEMPRO works through specialized services which handle the various groups of its articles.

HEMPRO is represented in all the main centres of Yugoslavia and has a great number of reputable agents and permanent business connections in foreign countries.

HEMPRO IMPORT — EXPORT OF CHEMICALS,
Terazije 8, Belgrade — Post Box 22
Telex No. 01—125.

Meetings and Talks

Soviet Trade Union Officials in Yugoslavia. — A delegation of the Soviet Electrical Workers' Union visited Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Metalworkers' Union. The Soviet guests saw several electric power stations and factories of electrotechnical goods.

Visit of Delegation of Permanent City Conference. — A delegation of the Yugoslav Permanent City Conference, headed by Velizar Skerovic the Vice-President, arrived in Athens on October 8, 1960 where they will attend the Congress of the Central Federation of Greek Cities and Communes which is soon to be held on the island of Crete.

Visit of U. S. Official. — Mr. Oliver Caldwell, Secretary of Education Department of Health, Welfare and Education, visited Yugoslavia from September 24 to October 6 as a guest of the Federal Executive Council Secretariat for Education and Culture.

Yugoslav Jurists in Bulgaria. — A delegation of the Yugoslav Jurists Federation attended, as observers, the Seventh Congress of the International Jurists Association, held in Sofia from October 10 to 14. Various problems pertaining to the role of jurists in the world of today, legal problems involved by the development and use of nuclear energy, legal forms of neutrality, and problems of equality of rights for women in the family and at work were examined.

Journalist Delegation in Sofia. — A delegation of the Yugoslav Journalists' Federation left on a fortnights' visit to Bulgaria on October 8, at the invitation of the Bulgarian Journalists' Union. The delegation was headed by Radivoje Papić, member of the presidium of the Yugoslav Journalists' Federation.

Visit of Japanese Cooperative Functionaries. — A delegation of the Central Federation of the Japanese Peasant Cooperatives arrived in Yugoslavia as guest of the Yugoslav Cooperative Federation. The Japanese visitors were particularly interested in the development of cooperation between the farm cooperatives and individual peasants in Yugoslavia.

Visit of Rhodesian Official. — Mr. Joshua Noabuko Nkomo, Director of the Foreign Relations Department of the National Democratic Party of South Rhodesia, arrived in Yugoslavia at the end of September. During his visit Mr. Nkomo showed particular interest in the work of the Socialist Alliance, the Trade Unions and the People's Youth.

Educational Delegation Visits Bulgaria. — A Yugoslav educational delegation left for Bulgaria on October 8. During their ten-day visit, which is taking place under the cultural exchanges programme for 1960, the members of the delegation will become acquainted with some aspects of the Bulgarian academic system.

Marija Dombrowska in Belgrade. — The well known Polish writer, Maria Dombrowska, visited Yugoslavia from September 21 to October 5, as a guest of the Yugoslav Publishers' Association.

Polish Journalists in Belgrade. — A delegation of Polish Journalists' Union, headed by Henryk Korotinsky, Editor in Chief of "Zicze Warsawy," arrived in Belgrade on October 11, at the invitation of the Yugoslav Journalists' Federation. During their fortnights visit to Yugoslavia the Polish newsmen will tour Vojvodina, Croatia and Slovenia.

Visit to Ghana Ended. — The Yugoslav Trade Union delegation, headed by Svetozar Vukmanovic, President of the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Unions, which visited Ghana, after spending a few days as guest of the Ghanaian Trade Union Congress, left for home on October 14.

Negotiations and Agreements

Economic Cooperation with Greece. — The talks held in Belgrade for several days between Nicolas Martis, Greek Minister of Industry, and Mijalko Todorović, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, concluded on October 4 by the signing of an Agreement on economic cooperation and trade. This instrument was concluded for a five-year period and also calls

for the participation of Yugoslav industrial organizations in the construction of some projects scheduled in the Greek five-year plan of economic development.

Five-Year Agreement with Czechoslovakia. — A Trade Agreement for the 1961—1965 period was signed in Belgrade on October 4 between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. This long-term arrangement provides for a substantial increase of commodity exchange between the two countries.

Treaty with Liberia. — The first Agreement on trade, navigation, economic and technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and Liberia was concluded in Belgrade on October 4. The agreement was signed after the conclusion of negotiations between Steven Tolbert, Secretary for Agriculture and Commerce in the Liberian Government and Sergej Krajer, member of the Federal Executive Council and President of the Foreign Trade Committee.

Arrangement with Italy. — An arrangement on hardcoal deliveries over the next ten-year period was concluded between the representatives of the Yugoslav coalmines and the competent Italian authorities. According to this agreement about 100,000 tons of hardcoal will be delivered annually.

Negotiations with Poland. — Talks on economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Poland during the 1961—1966 period were opened in Warsaw on October 7. Various problems pertaining to current commodity exchange and trade in 1961 will also be examined on this occasion.

Agreement with Poland. — A Protocol on scientific and technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and Poland for 1961 was concluded in Warsaw at the end of September. This agreement calls for the exchange of scientific and technical documentation and personnel in the sphere of industry, agriculture and civil engineering.

News in Brief

Industry. — The Yugoslav industry raised production by per cent during January-August 1961 by comparison with the corresponding period last year, and thus exceeded targets set by the Economic Plan for this period.

Zagreb International Fair. — Business contracts valued 268 billion 743 million dinars were concluded at the national Autumn Fair in Zagreb.

Crafts. — About five million dollars will be spent on purchase of equipment for crafts and services in 1961.

Orthography. — A standard uniform Serbo-Croatian Orthography containing a spelling dictionary of 70,000 words was published at the end of September.

The 1958/59 School Year. — There were 2,426,920 pupils and 79,686 teachers in the 14,342 basic eight-year schools in Yugoslavia for the above period, while there were only 9,190 schools, 1,470,973 pupils and 34,633 teachers in 1939.

There were 234 high schools with 77,574 pupils and 4,894 teachers, in comparison with 205 high schools, 125,098 pupils and 5,607 teachers in 1939.

There were 77 teachers' schools with 23,648 pupils, and 1,698 teachers, as compared with 37 schools with 4,268 pupils, and 555 teachers, in 1939.

There were 257 intermediate technical schools with 76,257 pupils and 6,262 teachers as compared to 53 such schools with 10,689 pupils and 879 teachers in the prewar period referred to.

There were 1,432 elementary national minority schools with 201,741 pupils, and 6,435 teachers by comparison with 266 schools with 41,976 pupils and 734 teachers in 1938. Instruction in these schools is given in Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Italian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Ruthenian, Slovak, Shiptar and Turkish.

There were 23 high schools for the national minorities with 2,984 pupils and 231 teachers, in comparison with 4 high schools with 1,014 pupils and 107 teachers in 1939.

There were 8 national minority teachers' schools with 1,659 pupils and 134 teachers as compared to one school with 82 pupils and two teachers in 1939.

Universities and Schools of Equal Academic Status. — There were 122 schools of higher learning with 96,890 students, and 3,931 professors, as against 26 schools, 16,978 students and 684 teachers in 1939.

Almanac. — The first of seven volumes which will constitute the Memorial Almanac marking the forty years activity of the Yugoslav labour movement was published in Belgrade at the end of September.

Archeological Site. — A big Roman mosaic 12 meters long was discovered in the town of Stip in Macedonia, as well as the tomb of a woman, with jewellery, several iron ornaments and interesting specimens of glassware.

Applied Art. — An exhibition of Yugoslav applied art was opened in Budapest at the end of September. There are about 300 objects on display.

Art Exhibition. — An exhibition of Yugoslav primitive painters belonging to the "Hlebine School" was opened in Sao Paolo, where the works of Ivan Generalić were particularly praised by the critics.

Political Diary

September 30 — The Federal Executive Council convened at a session, with Edvard Kardelj, the Vice President, in the chair. The development of the national economy during January-August 1960 was examined and the Bill on the Press, the Bill on the reserve funds of certain economic organizations were approved and the amendments to the Law on the contribution to the budget from the personal income of workers (Workers' income tax) adopted. A Decree was introduced on the professional rehabilitation of disabled war veterans and children of fallen fighters. Several international treaties were ratified at this session.

October 1 — Alersandar Ranković, Secretary-General of the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, issued a message in connection with Childrens' Week.

October 8 — The Fifth Congress of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Macedonia was held in Skopje from October 5 to 8. The Congress was addressed by Edvard Kardelj, member of the Executive Committee of the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance, on behalf of the Federal Committee. A report on activities during the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Congress was submitted by Lazar Kolisevski, President of the Central Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Macedonia. The Congress elected its Central and Supervisory Committee on October 10.

October 11 — Dr. Vladimir Velebit, President of the Council for Tourist Trade of the Federal Executive Council and Deputy President of the Foreign Trade Committee, was appointed Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe by Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations.

October 12 — President Tito returned to Yugoslavia from the Fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. A mass meeting was held in Belgrade to welcome the President, at which he spoke of the contemporary international situation.

October 13 — The Federal Executive Council held a meeting at which President Tito, who headed the Yugoslav delegation to the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations, reported on the activities of the Yugoslav delegation up till now. The Council fully approved President Tito's report and the activities of the delegation.

Diplomatic Diary

September 30 — Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council received Mr. Roland Cooper, first

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Liberia to Yugoslavia, who presented his Letters of Credence.

October 4 — Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council received Milos Lalovic, newly appointed Yugoslav Ambassador to Tunisia on the eve of his departure to his new assignment.

October 4 — Vice-President Edvard Kardelj received Steven Tolbert, cabinet member of the Liberian government, who is visiting Yugoslavia at the head of a Liberian trade delegation.

Our New Contributors

G. B. CHEWE: Former member of the African National Congress in Gambia and organizer for Northern Rhodesia.

DUŠAN POPOVIĆ: Director of Radiotelevision Belgrade; former editor and London and Rome correspondent of BORBA and former Secretary of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia.

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